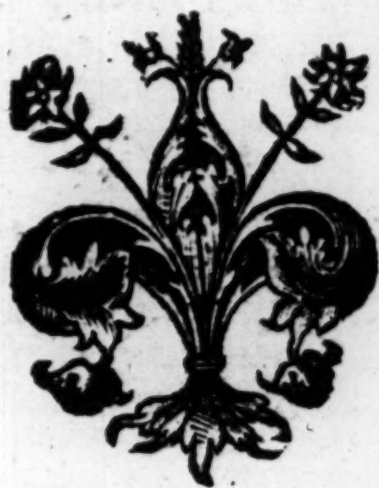


799

An Anfwere to the Supplication.

Against him, who seeming
to giue the ^{French} King counsel to become
a Catholike, indeuoureth to stirre vp
his good Subiectes vnto
rebellion.

Faithfully translated out of
French by E. A.



24

L O N D O N

Printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop
right ouer against the great South doore of
Paules. 1 5 9 4.

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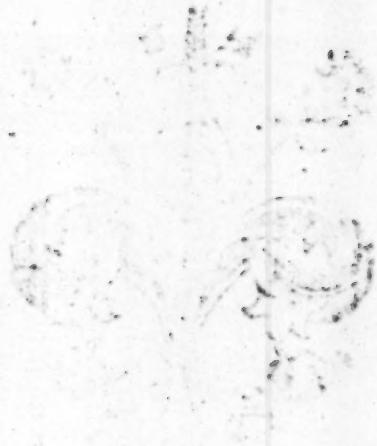
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An Answer to the Supplication
exhibited vnto
the King.

Have read the aduice giuen vnto the
K. vnder the name of a Supplication,
that he woulde vouchsafe to become a
Catholike, wherein I haue found no-
thing concerning a Supplication, but
the bare title. The rest is euen the
same that the Authour hath promise.
Sir, It is a second warre that light-
eth on your armes, by those who imitating the first chri-
stians, haue acknowledged you to be their King. Where-
to he should haue added, that such a second was of more dan-
gerous consequence then the first, because in the first, they that
tooke part were only the foles, doltes, ideots and wicked per-
sons. The commons by the furious inducement of a heape of
Friars and monkes, that fight rather for their malice then
for their faith, and the great ones to make way to their ambi-
tion. But in this they that terme themselves the kings faith-
full and good seruants, doe furnish instructions and remem-
brances wherewith vnder the pretence of a request to wyth-
drawe the vertuous from their vowed obedience and fidelitie.
Examine this discourse by peece meale, and you shall finde
many braue points: and examine it in General, and you shall
finde as many stabs wyth a dagger to ouerthrowe the King,
and so consequently the state. The Authour termeth himselfe
a Catholike, the kings good subiect, zealous for the common
wealth, all this, to pleasure him, I am content to beleue.
But had he bene a free catholike, he should haue addressed his
request to God, not to the King. Or if a good subiect desirous
of publike peace, he should haue opened his reasons vnto him
particularly, and not haue spread them amongst the people,
whereas contrariwise this request neuer came to his hands
for whome it is saide to be made, but runneth amongst those
that

An answer to the Supplication

that neede no praying, of whom one sort are rebels, another, ready to rebellion, & the thirde, such as are of a timorous conscience. The first, seeing the king is not yet become a Catholike do delight in these remonstrances as a parcell iustificatory of their rebellion: the second notwithstanding whatsoeuer their semblant are nothing soye for them: and the last doeth hang in suspence, as men neuer brought vp in the auncientie of the church, so that whether it be by art, or by hap, this Supplication hath course among vs, and the fruit thereof tendeth not to edifie the king, but to make some of his followers malecontents, and so aduenture to cause them to change their copies.

He may, will you say, saue him selfe by becomming a Catholike. But I tel you, it is not a matter to be cast in a moult. But he had promised his Nobilitie that he would take some paines therein within sixe moneths, who may be greued to see those moneths turned into sixe yeares. Good God, is not this a mere slander? made he that promise simply? So truely. What then? That he would summon eyther a generall or nationall counsell wythin sixe moneths, or sooner if possibly he coulde, to the ende to followe and obserue whatsoeuer should therein be decreede. Haue his ennemies since afforded him one quarter of an houres respite to tende thereto? While they were busie would you haue wished him to haue tended to discourses, and in the meane time to haue vndone and lost himselfe, as Hierusalem was lost while the Iewes busie about the exercise of the ceremonies of their sabbath, not willing or daring to defend themselves, fell vppon the edges of the Romaynes swordes? Hath he not a readie example of this fault before his face? For if after the death of the two brethren the late king had resolutely taken armes, and so giuen the rebels no leasure to bethinke themselves, the affaires of our France had bene in better state by the one halfe. But, O hard hap, we loytered about the godly Orations at the closing vp of the states at Bloys, wyth magnificall preparation, and while we set our whole delight vpon this theatre, we perceined not that 7. dayes before the citie of Paris throughe the inducements and practises of the Sorbonists had abandoned the kings obedience. Whobeit you the good and faithfull seruant of the king (you would thinke I should mocke

exhibited to the King.

mocke in terming you so) haue quietly shipped in these two wordes, That the Nobilitie would grieue to see their sixe moneths turned into sixe yeares , as if through frivolous delays the king longed after such lingering . After the same maner as you seeke to make him belæue, that in his desired conference he seeketh to be perswaded by five or six, who within these three daies departed from our church, most of them shamefully : These be your owne wordes, a matter that he neuer imagined, as hauing referred the conclusion of this cause to such a counsell as is aforesayde . But certainly eith ye would needes haue this warre to light vpon our kings neck, it had bin your part to haue fought with good weapons, and not with deedes which you haue slaunderously inuented.

But who be those noble men that haue given you commission to vse this speech to the king ? Are they the same that were at the camp at S. Clouds the 14. of August 1589. in whose hands the K. promised within sixe monthes to assemble a good, free and lawfull counsell, to the end to follow whatsoeuer should therein be concluded ? They are bound to the king by worde, signed, sealed and exemplified in the Parliament, and are not simply gentlemen onely, but even the Princes of the bloud, dukes, peers, officers of the crowne, and many other notable personages. All who haue promised him all seruice and obedience vpon his othe and promise, that within the time by him prescribed he would make this assembly. A promise which in it selfe implied a quiet condition of possibilitie, for no man euer meant to bind himselfe to a thing vnapossible, neyther is there any so senselesse, as not to see that the lingering which now appeares in the execution of this promise, is not by him sought or desired, but springeth out of these troubles . But why should we suppose that these doe complayne, considering we yet see them continue in the same deuotion, & that not they only haue embraced the kings iust querrell, but also many other dukes, marqueses, earles, barons and lordes, who in respect of their absence hauing not signed, haue notwithstanding hastened to come vnto him with great trains and concourse of people, to hazard their bodics, lines, and goods in his seruice. All these doe know that the sixe moneths are expired, yet do not thereupon impute any thing to the king, neither are so farre deuouide of consideration as to wish him to

An answer to the Supplication

enter into our Church by anie other way then was capitulated amongst them, and to the same end also was the lord of Luxembourg chosen to go to the Pope to give him to understand of al that was passed, which he acknowledged to be iust, holy, and most lawfull. I doe not here tell you of those house-doues and dozmice, who in their houses doe watch on which side the stozme may light, to the ende to apply themselves to the other: for these men I account as cyphres, so that if you haue no other then those, you might much better for your honours sake haue suppressed your request.

Well, on, to you do I now denounce warre even as you haue done to the king, for I am of the number of those Catholics whome you speake of in the beginning of your petition, who imitating the ancient christians, do continue in his obedience. If you be as you say, so catholike, so good a subiect vnto the king, such a lover of publike peace (for I must yet returne to our first point) sith you will reade a lesson to our maister of that which you thinke to appertayne to his duetie, ought you not also to haue done the like to the people of that that belonged to them? It is a matter that you forgot not to lacke of notice, for it is one of the first dishes wherewith you haue serued our king, when you tolde him that his good subjects did imitate the ancient Christians: yet stayed you so so dainely that your word dyed so soone as it was borne: and such a word, as being wel digested in good mens consciences, would procure a generall peace throughout the realme. Let vs therefore beginne here by our selues: let vs reade to our selues a lecture of our duties to our king, so being growen wise in our owne duties, we may the better indeuor by supplications, aduice, or other faire speeches, to teach him that which we thinke meete for him to do.

First, I am of opinion, that euery good citizen shoulde wish there were but one religion in euery well ordered common wealth, and euery good Christian that there were no exercise of any other then the cathol. apost. religion. What is the same whercin we haue bene of all antiquity brought vp in France: the same whercin we were baptised: the same whercin we should liue and die, as being the spring and assurance of our saluation vnder the banner of our sauioꝝ Iesus Christ. God hath giuen vs a king of an other religion then ours, yet

exhibited to the King.

a vertuous, valiant, noble, wise and iust p^rince. Such a one as accompanieth all his actions with the feare of God. Where the Wise man sayth, that the feare of the Lorde is the beginning of wisdom, I suppose he meant, that the feare of God is the ground of all religion. Nevertheless, if he were other, if a Nabuchodonosor, who was the greatest scourge vnto the house of God, yet were it our partes to doe for him the same that the Prophet Baruch exhorted the children of Israel to do for the said Nabuchodonosor, that is, to loue, honour, and obey him, and to remember him in our prayers: and whiche Because God hath given him vs, and will haue vs to haue such a one, whether to be reuenged of vs for our sinnes, or to p^roue the stedfastnesse of our faith, or vpon any other reason which he will not any should know but himselfe. When our Lord said, Giue vnto Caesar that belongeth vnto Caesar, &c. Peter in one of his Epistles &c. Paule to the Romans, and to Titus commaunded the christians to pray to God for the earthly powers and to obey them, they knewe that all the kings, monarches, and p^rinces of those dayes were heathen, as were all the other the emperours from Augustus to Constantine the great, yea Constance the sonne of Constantine, albeit a christian, was infected with the heresie of Arius, and Julian his successor from christianitie returned vnto his Idolatrie, all which notwithstanding, we stil obeyed them. For the proposition of our Christianitie imported that wee sought rather to obey the vice-emperour then the inferiour iudge, the emperour then the vice-emperour, and God then the emperour, because vpon the one depended onely the losse of goodes and life, things perishable and transitory: on the other, eternall damnation of our soules: to be b^riefe, that the good christian should make a buckler of his life against such assaults as might be deliuered him by the emperour, when he contrarieth the honour of God, but that in all other things we owe him our obedience. This was the trophie erected by our fathers. Reade S. Cyprian, S. Hierom, S. Augustine, and especially Tertullian the ancientest of them all, where he writeth to Scapula the gouernour of Afrike. We, said he, do in all, and through all obey the emperour, we acknowledge him to be our soueraigne Lorde, we willingly pay him tributes, aides, and subsidies. One onely thing we desire to ob-

An answer to the Supplication

obtaine of him, that is, that he will permit vs to liue in peace of conscience. The like saith he in his Apologie: and aboute all things in this generall obedience, he will not that the christian Gray one tittle from the common course of his religion, but that rather he should abide all kind of torments: and this is it that he doth at large discourse vpon in his treatie of the crowne of a souldier. And to the ende you should not thinke that they liued so because force so commaund, yeu shall find that **T.** of Aquine, one of our chiefe schoule diuines discoursing vpon this article, is of opinion, that of whatsoever religion the prince be, yet the subiect ought to obey him, also that there is one only cause that may dispense with the othe of fidelitie, v3. when from christianity the prince declineth to paganisme, wherein likewise he is gaine saide by antiquity: for it is certaine that the christians neuer doubted to obey Julian the Apostata. Yea that great Saint Martin the holy buckler of our France was vnder his pay sine whole yeares while he was a Catechist, that is, during the time of his probation, wherein such as were disposed to make profession of our religion were strictest in their actions. This is, in my opinion, the lesson you shoulde haue taught the French nation, and which now I do deliuer in manner of a supply to the second line of your Supplication: for being so carefull for the saluation of the kings soule, you should not haue neglected the rest of France. A lesson as catholike and holy as the heresie is detestable, that hath course among the Leaguers, v3. to vpholde that because our kings religion is contrary to ours, we lawfully may not onely deny him our obedience, but also leauy warre against him. For were their opinion true, wee must condemne the whole doctrine of the primitive Church, we must condemne **S. Peter** and **S. Paule**, yea we must condemne the great patron and foundation of our religion **Iesus Christ**: yet it is such an heresie as slideth into the harts of those that are taken to be the honestest men: so your selfe do seeme to be somewhat spotted therewith, with of set purpose you omitted this principall peece, which would greatly haue enriched your worke. How then? Will I dissuade the king from becoming a Catholike, because I teach his subiects to obey him? God forbid. The tipe of all my desires tend to see him vnited in the same religion with vs: but to tel you true, I could

exhibited to the King.

I could wish that neither you nor I had undertaken the burdening of this webbe. It is very dangerous to become an arbitrator in the causes and opinions of a mighty king, especially in an argument of so great consequence as this, withall considering the diuersity of humours amongst vs at this day. Stand you vpon this, that the king ought to become a catholike? In hast post hast, as you do, vnles he follow your counsell, sundry tickelish soules will strait imagine that it proceedeth of want of deuotion, and mindeth to feede his faythfull subjects with dclaires in respect of his promise at his comming to the crowne, and so shall you perhaps be the cause of a new commotion against him. But let me vpholde the contrary, and I shall prouide some conceit for diuers slippery mindes, that by his consent I am vnder hand taught by those of his religion to play this part: which will be a newe preparation to mistrust, a matter no lesse dangerous then the other: and withall it will be thought that in heart I professe an other religion then the same that outwardly I exercise. Neyther you nor I are Lissippus or Apelles, that we should represent Alexander in imagery or picture. I meane we are not sufficient to discourse vpon this high point that aimeth both at religion and the state: neuerthelesse, with you, abusing the liberty of the tyme wherein euery one thinketh it lawfull to doe what he list, seeming to bring a medicine for the state, do bring payson: I beleue the better sort will not mislike that I also do take leaue to bring in a counterpayson. I will tell you then, that I am of opinion that the K. become a catholike, and that as soone as it may please God to giue him grace (for it is a blessing that proceedeth from God, not from vs) but that he should so become vpon the mould that you prescribe him. I do not thinke that any good seruant to God or the king can so thinke good. I pray the Reader haue patience to the end, and be not dated at this first step. Our religion is the holiest, &c. I will beginne with this word Holie, which is the first point of your reason: for as for the rest which concerneth the reputation, profit and necessity thereof, al your subtilties are vaine in the sight of God, which notwithstanding I will discourse vpon in their places as I thinke mete.

Our king must become a catholike because our religion is the best: I tell you againe he must, but not a state Catholike,

An answer to the Supplication

such a one as you would frame him, that is to say, a Prince that shall abandon his religion, that shall henceforth goe to masse. that vpon the solempne festiualles shall communicate wyth vs in the holy sacrament, so to content his people wyth faire shewes, but in heart shall scorne all our ceremonies, for so shall you forme vs a king without religion, who before in the profession of his own reposed his whole confidence in God. For why shoulde not I imagine that you woulde make hym such a one, euen you who tearme his zeale and deuotion in this behalfe, when he offereth to submit himselfe to the ordinaunces and decrees of a good counsell which hymselfe wil procure, sometimes ceremoniall, sometimes courtizanicall. In the religion that he professeth he doth with his whole heart confesse one God, and abhorreth by gestures only to acknowledge him. Vpon a request exhibited by his princes and great lordes that he would vouchsafe to become a Catholike, he besought them not to wish in him a rash alteration of his religion, but rather that wyth ripe deliberation he might be by our men instructed, not in grosse, as you wish, but particularly and by peece-meale. A matter that he desired, not vpon courtezany or ceremony, but for that he coulde not so easely as you, iest wyth his conscience, for, if neede be, vpon his conuersion, he will do open penance for his error. This manner of dealing do you mislike, and would haue him at vnauwares and blindfold take our part, and this do you terme a miracle. But for my part my spirite is ouer dull to digest this great metamorphosis of the conscience. Yet knowe I that God wrought a greater miracle in the conuersion of S. Paul: but in our church there neuer was but one S. Paul, whom God had especially chosen to be his trumpet to all the nations of the Gentiles. Thus may we see how euery man misconstrueth the Scriptures, and for the most parte applyeth them to couer his owne impietie. To this purpose I remember that in the time of S. Cyprian sundry ecclesiasticall persons admitted to lodge wyth them, some of their kindred to guyde, and as they sayde, to ouersce their householde affayres. But this great and holy parson misliking this vse, as knowing the inconuenience that in procelle of tyme might growe thereof, they for their defences alleadged the example of the Virgine Mary and S. John, who dwelt together after the death and passion

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passion of our savior Jesus Christ. Oh wretches (cryed this holy man) dare you gather any consequence of the particular blessing of these two excellent soules. therewith so to conuer your impudicities. There is no example to be taken of those examples. Being in the mystery of the conuersion of Saint Paule to strengthen your aduice, and al Marchenellian princes shall hereafter become S. Pauls.

But, the people (say you) are troubled with a sickness of mind: they feare least the king continuing in this state wherein he now is, should suppress the Catholike religion: and therefore there is no other remedy for that disease, but that he become a Catholike. First, who is the people that you speake of? Have you searched into the hearts of all the kings good and loyall subjects? You will grant mee as I suppose, that all these Princes and great Lordes that haue subscribed the aforesaid declaration that he made, are none of them: as also that they are not those who since without subscribing haue come to paye hym their due seruice, neyther such as accompanied them. Proceede throughout the rest of the people which are many, and howe knowe you that they are troubled with this disease of the mynd, that you should so boldly assure our king thereof? If you should be disaduaunted what would you say? And seeke you any greater disaduantage them three answers written against you: The quiddities of your Supplication might peraduenture breede this mischief in some weak minds, but not in any such as haue any more certayne information of the affaires both of God and the worlde: and wythall thinke that for every one that is of your mind there be an hundred of a contrary opinion. And to tell you the trueth, you flatter your selfe, and do measure others by the mete-wand of your opinions: yet God grant I do say truth, and that it be your opinion, and not rather a subtle subtilty to wythdrowe the good and loyall Catholikes from their vowed obedience to the king. Moreover, you go about to daunt the king wyth an imaginary feare of the people, whereas he in his soule is sufficiently terrefied wyth the feare of God. He feareth, and in good reason, least if he should mocke his Master, as you wish him to do, his Master would afterward mocke him: he who otherwhiles hath receyued such fauour and graces of God, that all the harmes of
B 2 others

An answer to the Supplication

others haue turned to his profite. You may make of your conscience aameleon, that turneth into as many colours as it seeth obiectes. But the kings conscience is not made after any such fashion: he thinketh that man to haue no soule that can so easily play wyth his soule: that he is vtterly void of religion, that can frame his religion according to the diuersity of raignes: to be brieue, that he is the same Eccebolius mentioned in the Ecclesiasticall history.

But you haue none (say you) but the nobilitie to take your parte, your enemy hath the Communalitie, and yee knowe that one Iulius Cæsar with the assistance of the Communalitie defeated Pompey and all the Nobilitie of Rome. Oh stay man, you iudge boldely of our estate, and do not consider that the policie of our France, heretofore called Gall, doth farre differ from that of the Romanes. For euermoze, euen in the dayes of your Cæsar, and that by his owne testimony the force of this nation depended vpon the Nobilitie. A custome which by succession of time and age is conuerted into nature, so that at this day the Duke of Mayenne wyth all his rebellious towne and popular power, doth but warde our blows, and is bynne to the end to raigne in France to become the Spaniards slaue: yet do I make no accompt of this worldly pollicy. Our king buildeth not his hope vpon eyther the Nobility or the communalty, but vpon God only: he is his buckler, his fortresse, and his upholder, yea he is all in all vnto him, and hee beleueth that wythout him all the forces of the worlde are but winde.

But let vs graunt all the fashions possible to the argument that we entreate of, for to say truely, it is the highest point, and must not be weakely handled. As the Diuell the father of dissention hath within these thirty yeares party-coloured vs with religions, vnder these two wordes Catholike and Huguenot, so are we our selues also as well in the one as in the other parti-alized. For some take part for the states sake, others for religion onely. I will therefore stand vpon the termes of Catholike, which we will here forme vs, and will say that we haue two kindes of Catholikes, the one, catholikes of estate, the other, catholikes in religion. The first are worldly catholikes, and so consequently the diuels Catholikes. The second are the true catholikes in our church,
and

exhibited to the King.

and so consequently the children of God. If we consider the first sort, you are not, in my iudgement, of sufficient practise in the estate to shape vs a Catholike prince by your patterne: If the second, then albeit you haue learning, yet haue you not catholike religion enough in your head to make a prince catholike by religion.

Now let vs speake of the estate catholike, as of him who peraduenture as at this day beareth greatest sway throughout all christendome. I meane of him that hath no consideration of the saluation of his soule in the sight of God, but of the advancement of himselfe or his state, wherein I beseech those that shal spend some houre in the reading of this my discourse, to thinke that I do not in any wise allow of such catholike policies, but doe vtterly condemne, abhorre and detest them as abhominable in the sight of God. Howbeit, in as much as now we are to giue the people to vnderstand that there was neuer counsaile more pernicious, then that which the Duplication importeth, also that it is a marchandise fetcht out of the leaguers backe shop, who vnder a false shew of seeking to husband the peace of the realme, doe practise a new division between the king and his good subjects, I beseech you giue me leave to strike vpon this tenour which hath recourse vnto the state, and afterward I will touch the base that hath relation to the catholike church when I come to speake of the catholike in religion. I vpholde, that if the king become a catholike wythout that which you terme ceremony or courtizany, and I call most holy wel ordered deuotion, he loseth his reputation among all men, and wythall, aduentureth the losse both of himselfe and his realme. There is nothing of like importance to the mighty as honoz. What is it that may most perswade them. Our king hath from his infancy ben brought vp in the doctrine that he yet followeth: he hath as a man shoulde say euen sucked in with his nurses milke, his religion, together wyth the expresse commandement that his mother the Q. of Navarre at her decease gaue and lefte vnto him, as it were a testamentarie legacie, namely, that he shoulde perseuer therein vnto the death. He hath since defended it against all worldly indenoys, with the price of his blood and life, and hath had good successe. He that being simply king of Navarre, with a handfull of men hath vpon this opinion braued his ene-

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nemy that was armed with the pretence of the holy sea of Rome, with the authority of the late king and of the king of Spaine, shall now being king of France, and assisted with so many princes, dukes, peers, marquesses, earles and barons stoop for a weake stripe with a reede to him that doth but warde his blowes? This was not the opinion of Pope Sixtus last deceased, as may witness some honorable personages, whom he charged to tell the king, that as well in respect of his conscience toward God, as of his reputation among men, it stood him upon to take great heed of altering his religion, vnlesse with such order as he had taken with his Nobilitie. I do expressly alleadge vnto you the authority of this great person, as well in respect of his degree of dignity or ner vs, as for the wisdom that his age and long experience had purchased. The other men are but ceremonies. Banish the ceremonies of our votus in matters of greatest conscience, as religion, and ye shall ere ye be aware banish a great part of all religions. There is nothing that a great king ought so much to feare, as to incurre an opinion of lightnesse and inconstancie. The which to elchue he must vse all possible means in any alteration that he purposeth in matters of consequence. If when there ariseth any question or argument about the giuing of the lie to a Gentleman, or one that professeth armes, when they goe about agreement men vse to bring all kindes of formalities to couer the hono: as well of the giuer as of the taker, will you not suffer a mighty king to vse some ceremony whereby to shunne the lie which you doe imagine he giueth to our Church, thinking to doe well? If it stand vpon his reputation (I speake now as a worldly wise man) you must treade vnder foote both the profite and necessities by you alleadged: for not only princes but euen meane gentlemen doe account nothing profitable or necessary that may any whit impeach their hono:.

But (say you) this shall be a great conquest for the K. ouer himselfe: nay contrariwise, it shall be a braue victorie that his ennemies shall haue obtained against him. So that were I in pay with them, I would also procure the like supplication as yours. The feare nothing so much as that, say you: you say it, but for my parte I thinke the contrarie. For were I of their counsel, God knows what rate I would set

exhibited to the King.

set vpon the merchandise, and how much I would thinke to
gaine by trusting it forth. The mischiese is, that they be
destitute of I wote not what hired lack-lattine Preachers,
whome in their pulpits they cause to play what persons they
please. My counsel is (say you) of such efficacie, that by
one sole Edict, by one skinne of parchment wel penned,
the king shal obtaine that at his peoples handes, that fiftie
thousand corslets can not obtaine. If the Pope doeth
gain-say him, a faire appeale as of abuse may do him rea-
son. So soone as his subiects shal see their king returned
into the bosome of the Church, they wil immediatly fall
downe at his feete, as hauing the feare that held them in
suspence banished away. Indeepe you are a great Nostro-
damus, that doe prognosticate vnto vs wonderfull thinges:
what pledge or surety haue you for your promise? Are you
yet to learne, that betwene ligue and guile an elde French
word that signifieth deceit, there is no difference but the trans-
position of a sillable? Whereupon do you ground your pre-
diction? Are you a Sindicque Atturny for all the rebellious
townes? Are your remembrances signed, wherby you think
you shall not be disadowned? But grant you haue them, doe
you take the Leaguers to be so honest men that they will not
infringe their faith? A woman that hath once abandoned her
honor, doth after ward with time sell to others good cheape.
And I shall neuer thinke that man to haue any faith, that
hath so easily dispensed with his fidelity to his prince. But
let vs argue euen by common sense, whether there be any
likelihoode to beleue that the townes wil submit themselves
to the kings obedience. The Iudiciall Astrologers that deale
with casting our natiuities, after they haue erected their fi-
gures, do stand assured of their predictions to come, in case
they find they haue hit right in that which is past: and there-
in indeede there is some likelihoode, albeit I be not of opinion
that we should beleue such fantasticall prognosticators: sit
therfore that you do meddle with iudging of that that is to
come, it is requisite that your iudgement be not fixed vppon
some vaine imagination, especially in matter of so great im-
portance as this is: but you ought to ground it vppon some
correspondence and complement of thinges past with such as
are to come. You thinke that nothing but religion doth con-
tinue

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tinne warres in France. When the towne armed themselves against the late king, was it religion that invited them thereto? Was there ever prince more stedfast in Romish religion then he? For even abandoning many times the degree of his royalty, he framed his actions to his subjects, sometimes shewing himselfe openly a penitent, sometimes making himselfe halfe a Monk in cloisters, so to exercise his deuotion: neither need we any greater testimony then this, that he had in trueth but yet aliue, had he not reposed too much confidence in monkes and friars. Let vs leave nothing at home that may tend to the fauour of your opinion. For in so high an argument as this I fight for the trueth, not for victorie. You may reply, that the reason that raised their armes against the other king do cease in this: for the murder committed against the two brethren in the assembly of the states, together with the extraordinary collections and exactions against his people cried to God for vengeance. For these be the two common places where with they shroude themselves: but neither of these considerations haue place in the king now reigning. A solution indeede not all amisse. But tell me: when the D. of Guise openly without all order of law went about by the estates holden at Bloys, to cause the king of Navarre to be declared utterly unworthy and incapable of the crowne of France, there was neither vengeance to be executed, neither had the king of Navarre consented to all the corruptions of the others raigne. But contrariwise the house of Guise had had good parte therein: for they had gotten for themselves five or six Edicts to the oppression of the people: but especially that great reformer of tyranny, the Duke of Mayen. I know well enough that the duke of Guise shrouded his arme vnder the visard of religion. Yet if thou being lieutenant of France but in parchment onely, he solicited this wrong against the king of Navarre, think you the duke of Mayenne, that so thinketh himselfe to be indeede, were so fond as not to prosecute his first point? Doe you yet suppose that such parts of the people as in euery towne, by slacking the hyde to all mischiefe, haue enriched themselves with the spoiles of good men (for to speake truth, there is no towne but hath his Rosieux or Bussy le Clerc) that they, I say, that haue the strength in their owne handes, wil suffer the rest in the

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the towne houses to propound the yelding into the kinges obedience, or if any shoulde be so bolde woulde not lodge him betwene foure darke walles? Haue they not twenty tormentors in their consciences that accompany them in al places? Is this word Relaps, wherewith the duke of Guise armed himselfe dead with him? You will tell me that the pope shall dispense, and I tel you your preachers wil not beleue it, no more then they haue attended his decre and authozity to sound out warre against the late king. Can not they adde, that the king hauing set so small a price of his conscience wil proue a Catholike for a vantage, I meane of worse condition then befoze, and so haue no religion? May they not haue a good argument to aduow it? If they haue bin so wicked as in their pulpits to proclaim the late king to be of no religion, and to giue out his abstinence from meates and other the austerities by him vled to be but mocks & hypocrites wherewith to abuse the peoples simplicity, what may they say of him that so slightly may haue turned his coate? You thinke they will not do it: if you thinke so, even in common sense you are deceiued. Or you imagine that albeit they should so do, yet their Sermons woulde be of too small effect with the people, to turne at any this their new bow and deuotion, that you assure the king of. But I am of a contrary opinion. Thus you see vs of contrarie mindes, and vpon this contrariety of hopes and opinions woulde you haue the king hazard his person and state? You may say, If I were king I wuld: and I wil answere for him, What if he had made the Supplication now in question, peraduenture he woulde do it: but being k. he must looke well that he do it not. My good friend, I vnderstand but one Lattin word, Tanti poenitere non eam, and I thinke it were good for the kings service that he should remember it in French. If the king agreeing to your opinion by this his new beleefe had lost all his beleefes of his antient seruants that haue wyth him bozne the quarrell, as taking it to be Gods quarrell. And the princes that fauoured him for the communion of their religion rather then of their callings should growe luke warme in his behalfe: And on the other side, if the rebels should perseuere in their rage, into what disorder, or rather dispaire should you bring his affaires? He should finde himselfe lunched ere he were aware.

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and you shall proue but a bad warrant for your counsell: Neither your parchment nor your appeale as of abuse, to be byiefs, all the petfoggeries of France would not suffice to warrant him. His enemies haue a newe production, I say weapons, the which contayned wyth I wot not what coloured title, which the strongest do neuer want, when the question concerneth a kingdome, they will easily by the meanes thereof winne their cause. For as for the consistory of Rome, which in such affaires is of some waight in the ballance, as being composed of sundry lordes, who throught their longer experience do ordinarily coniayne religion with the state, and neuer diuide humane wisdom from holines, it wil alwaies incline to the strongest.

But is not this the parte of a very Scholler in State matters, to wish that a prince should alter his religion, vpon a vaine conceipt thereby to winne the hearts of those whome he would conquer? If your Machiavell now liued, who taught you that a king ought to be of like religion as his subjects, he would tell you that a wise prince neuer made so vnclarkly a step, as to alter his religion, so long as he stood vpon the conquest. Not hauing atchieued all his enterprises, he should then consult with his friends, whether it were good for him to embrace his subjects religion, to the ende the better to like them. Now, and such as be like your selfe doe relie onely vpon the catholike religion of the French kings, namely for that king Clouis altered his Paganisme into Christianitie, which in those daies was dispersed ouer all the Galles. Let vs rest vpon this example, which may be a good guide to leade vs in the path that we are to passe. Did this great king (for I account him for the greatest that euer raigned in France without exception, either of Charlemaine, or of Philip the conquerour) become a christian, so long as he stood vpon his conquests: or did he it without any ceremony? No verely. For when he was to receiue the sacrament of Baptisme, it was performed with such dignity by his great counsellor S. Remy, that afterward the posterity conuerted all the ceremonies thereat obserued into miracles. Besides he abandoned not his heathen religion to stoupe to oures, vntill he had freed his state from the bondage of the Romanes, subdued the Burgundion who occupied part of our Galles: chased the Wisigot that

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that possessed the country of Septimany, since called Languedoc, into Spaine, and though the great battell of Tolbiac brought vnder his obedience all Germany, whereby Theodorike king of Italy became a suter vnto him, all which performed, he receiued Christendome: yet can I not hereupon inferre, that for all this he became a state Christian: but thus much is certaine, that he vsed this discretion at his new purpose, that he turned not from his religion vntill he found himselfe to haue the vpper hand.

I will vse your owne examples: you say that the Macedonians abated I wot not how much of their ancient deuotion to their king Alexander, because he attired himselfe after the Persian manner. This story will I faithfully and at large rehearse, as greatly serving my turne, but not yours. So long as Alexander was busied about the conquest of Asia, he forbore to vse either the habite or customes of the kings of Persia. But hauing once conquered it, imagining that hee wanted no moze for the accomplishment of his victories but the conquest of the hearts of his new subiects, whose Country which he had subdued was in extent fise or sixe times as great as all Macedonia, he had recourse vnto the pollicie we speake of. He tooke both the attire and diademe of the kinges of Persia, and from thenceforth beganne to cause himselfe to be adored by such as came to salute him. A matter vnaccustomed among the Grecians, yet such as made the conquered so pliable to his obedience, that he kept them in peace so long as he liued. Hereupon a certaine philosopher, or rather a Scholler named Calisthenes, who measured a mightie kings imaginations by his owne, began to murmur among the soldiers, shewing them, that it was the way to bury the Grecian liberty in the bondage of the Persians, in the conquest whereof they had borne a great parte and portion with Alexander: and if neede had so required, had he thought vpon it, he would haue exhibited a like Supplication as yours, whereby to bring Alexanders behanior into dislike. These complaints passing from mouth to mouth among the Macedonians was like to haue stirred vp a great sedition. Whereupon the king put the scholemaster to death, not vpon any iniurious wrath, as some foolish Historiographers haue written, but to the end to stoppe the fluxe of this new commotion, and

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withal to make him an example to the posteritie, against such as licentiouslly abusing their tongues or penne, befoze they haue serued their appzentisage in state affaires, doe in their studies meddle with controuling the actions of their king among his people and subiects.

This example haue I set you downe to two endes. The first, to shew you that a soueraigne prince ought neuer to alter his fashions, maners, or religion for the contentation of a people befoze he hath gotten the maistery ouer them. The other to let you vnderstand that we are not so easily or openly to controll the behaviours of our kings, especially in matters concerning the estate. For not to penetrate into the bottom of their thoughts, and yet to publish against them such speeches or diffamatory libels as may moue their subiectes to reuolt, is a matter of death: and you may peraduenture haue deserued the same punishment as Calisthenes: he for complaining foolishly, and out of season of Alexanders new alteration of the auncient fashions of Grece: you for complaining of the king for not altering his olde religion for an other that shall be new vnto him. For to tell you plainly what opinion many haue of you, they say that it is the very counsel of one, who seeming to loue the king, loueth him not, or studying vppon his preservation, endeouureth to destroy him. And at one word, that your Supplication is the counsell of a wicked Leaguer: yet for my part, I doe for your excuse tell them, that if it includeth any mischief, the same proceedeth not of any your hatred against the king, but of too much loue to your selfe. Had I access to the kings eare, and were I as a state man to counsel him, I would not wish him to become a Catholike yet, but to stay vntill hee had overcome his affaires. Neither is there any better meane to lincke vnto vs a Countrey that we haue but lately conquered, then by purchasing fauour of the people, which may be kept by embracing their religion, vlesse we be so strong as without alteration we may commatind the same. This is the counsel that (speaking as a worldly wise man) I woulde giue my king. But let vs, I pray you, returne vnto God, who shoulde be our Weathercocke, and without whom we cannot arrive in any good haven. I haue suffered my selfe at vnawares to be carried away with the waues of this worlde. All this
worldly

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worldly wisdom is but folly before God. Where you doe with the king to become a Catholike, without laying his hand vpon his heart, you doe it to no other end, say you, but to procure him to raigne in assurance ouer his people, and to bring peace to his realme, though not to his soule. What wil you say if I shew you both with the finger and eye, that through euen palpable and visible miracles of God, all things haue gone against the haire with such Catholikes? I wil not seeke out of France, neyther from the quarrell that hath been among vs these thirty yeares: and the liuing God I take to witnesse, that no passion maketh me to vtter that which I do mind to speake, but euen a desire to open the eyes of the blind.

It can not be denied but that the duke of Guise father to the last deceased, also the last deceased were great warriors, bolde, and as valiant as might be, Lordes that accompanied their valour with al humane wisdom, wherein both they and the Duke of Mayenne alwayes lodged this proposition: That they would not vse our religion any further then the commodity of their affaires did commaund, for their owne aduancement and greatnesse. I wil beginne with the father and his brother the Cardinall of Lozaine. So soone as King Henry the second was dead, seized vpon his sonne the young king Frances, by a title of because he had married their neece, and withall estranged from his presence the princes of his blood and officers of the Crowne, namely, that wise Constable Montmorencie, who was in so great fauour with the former king his master: from whom not content with that disgrace, they tooke the state of great Maister, which he had inioyed euer since the decease of René of Sauoy his father in law. This tyranny was euident, for all the affaires of France passed through the hands of these two brethren, who abused the kings name and youth at their pleasures. Many good Frenchmen unable to beare that tyranny, conspired against them. The King then sojourned sometimes at Chenonceau, sometimes at Ambois. The whole communalty swarmed thither, intending to banish these our newe Maisters, and to present a Supplication to the king for the establishing of a lawfull counsell of the Princes of the blood, and officers of the crowne about his person. I thinke there was I wot not what of the newe religion among (for I

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will not in any wise falsifie this historie. Their mishap was such that they were discovered by one Desauennes an advocate, who was of that faction, by whom the Guises were advertised that the peoples quarrell was against them. The enterprise thus discovered, the principallies were apprehended at the Castell of Noisé, and the common people upon the highways, who had their directions to meete at Ambois. Nowe I beseech you vnderstand what wisdom in mans sense these two brethren vsed, to maintaine themselves in their usurped authoritie. Also how in the end God turned al their deuises into smoke. Because this history deserueth to be knowne to al: so soone as these poore men were taken, they are made to believe that they came with intent to seize vpon the kinges person, and to take him prisoner. Their processe is by and by made and briefly finished by a Paiter of requestes. Bazere, Castelnaw, Poize, and Kenne the principall enterprisers are beheaded in the market place of Amboise. Kenaudy whome Wardillan slew in the fieldes, after his death is quartered and made an example: and of their followers an infinit number, some drowned by heapes, others hanged ouer the Castell walles. This first stone thus cast for a foundation to their building, they considered that this enterprise must proceede from some higher hand. Also that in such affaires after they had put in vze the first exemplary punishment against the chiefest offenders, it was requisite to pardon the rest of the commons, and yet in any wise not to spare the heades of the greatest and Authours. What if any had cause to mislike the then gouernement, it was the princes of the bloud, to whom this charge appertained, during the minoritye of the king, whome a marriage could make no wiser then his age: and therefore by a braue policy they were wise enough for propounding their owne interest: so that laying downe only the honoz of God and the king, after the executions at Amboise, they publish a generall pardon to all the common people that had consented to this conspiracy, whereby no man should afterward be molested therefore. They create a new guard of French harquebusiers about the kings person, whose Captains being at their deuotion, was an ordinary assurance for them to and against all men. Underhand they gather informations against the heades of this conspiracy, not naming a-
ny.

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ny. They fortifie the high wayes to Ambois and Orleans with men of armes, so to prevent all newe commotions that might spring out of Guyenne, because at that time the late Lord prince of Conde was retired into Bearne with his brother the king of Navarre, who were the men against whom they layde all their snares. At Fountain-belleau they procure the creation of 17. new knights of the order of saint Michael, therein violating all auncient order, for before they neuer created aboue one or two at the most at once, and that very seldome, and with great consideration. But these were so many bound vnto them, and props for their tyranny in time to come. Thence they lead the king to Paris, where they do cause him to take assurance of fidelitie of the prouost of Merchants and Sheriffs of the towne to himselfe. All these preparatiues thus made, they bring him to Orleans, where they decree vpon commaundementes throughout all France for the assembly of the estates, as knowing very well that the deputies do neuer yeelde but where force and authority commandeth them, albeit men be perswaded that the same is the vpholding of the peoples libertie. Withall they dispatch many missiues in the kings name to the king of Navarre, the Prince of Conde, the Constable, and the Admirall, to come to him to Orleans, pretending these commaundements vpon his desire that they should be assistant to this assembly. Every wise man iudged that there was some notable tragedie to be played at the costes of these poore lords, for the perpetuall establishment of the house of Guise. The Constable hauing some inkling, made but slowe haste. The king of Navarre, and the lord prince after many reiterated commaundements arrived at the towne of Hoytiers, where they had the first aduertisement of the kings discontentment against them, but withall at the same instant, they were so inuested by the Marshall of Termes with two companies of men of armes, that they could not possibly retorne backe againe. At their comming to Orleans the lord prince was committed to safe custody, and certaine Judges were expressely sent for from Paris to frame his inditement. As for the king of Navarre, they searched so narrowly into his actions, that there was no great difference betwene Garde and Regarde. The prince perceiuing that it was a match set in hand by the Lorraines
for.

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for his destruction vnder the borrowed name of the king, beganne to linger matters, craued distribution of counsell: al leadged, that he being a pzince of the bloud, was not to bee iudged by Commissioners, but by the whole body of a Court of Parliament. But they spurred him so neare, that the defences which he propounded were taken for an affected contumacie. In the meane time the deputies came in apace, which was so prouided, to the end, that after the indictment had bin fully framed, this poore pzince, who had erred in nothing, but in neglecting to withstand their tyranny, might haue bin condemned to death, not only by a Parliament, that should haue bene brought for the nonce, but also by the three estates of France. This once obtained, I wote not what should haue become of the king of Nauarre, whome at that time all men so forsooke, that such as in heart were his humble and affectionat seruants, durst not so much as by a winke of the eye be acknowne thereof. Was there euer enterprize guided with more worldly wisdom then this? Let vs therefore see the ende. Euen when they were ready to smite, and that to that effect they were about to remoue the king out of that towne to Chenonceau, to the ende he being absent, the said L. pzince might haue no recourse to his mercy: The king booted and spurred, and ready to take horse, beganne to finde himselfe ill at ease, and to be shorfe, died within lesse then 4. daies. When, euen in the twinkling of an eye, all the purposes of these two brethren were turned to nothing. The bondmen to the court gaue them ouer and dretwe to the K. of Nauarre. Him did the estates pronounce the kings lieutenant generall ouer all France, during the minority of king Charles the 9. Also the L. pzince, plainetife in a declaration of innocencie, by a decree of Parliament in scarlet robes, obtaineth his full demaunde. All that the two brethren had as yet compassed were state blowes, but this was a maisters blowe. I speake of that maister who laugheth those to scozne, that with mans wisdom make a scozne of him. For had they not, euen with holberds fetcht the king of Nauarre, euery man iudgeth, that considering his nature, he would hardly haue come vnto the court, or if he had come, it would haue bin with such delaies, that in the meane time the others might very easily haue continued their authoritie about the M. mother, a forren pzin-
celle,

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esse, who without the assistance of the princes of the blood had had no great power to withstand them. Now will you aske me what correspondence this example hath with the state catholike whome I detest: Very great: for I aduow, and aduowling am not deceiued, that neyther of these two brethren troubled his head with any other religion, then such as they thought might serue to the aduancement and progresse of the greatnesse of their famely. For they were the first that counseled king Henry the second to become protector of the Dutch Nation, that is, of the Germans religion against Charles the first, and forced the parlement to bereffe this byaue title. This that I say is no fable hatched with my quill: for there is none that liued in those daies but knew it, neyther concealed they it, but accompted it as a matter that they thought might turn to their honoz. If these our Maisters had bin so zealous to the Romish church, as since they would haue made vs beleue, would they haue iustified this iourney into Germany, which was the first ruine of our ffraunce? Would they not rather haue gaine saide it, by humble Supplications, declaring vnto the king, that such a protection was sozmally as they thought repugnant to the honour of God and his Church. But they maintained the contrary as waxning so both to purchase their masters fauour, and withal to benefitt themselves about him, as indeede they did. For the Duke of Bourgne the father neuer purchased so much honour as in the Towne of Metz when hee withstode the siege against the Emperour Charles the first.

This is the reason that I haue noted this example against all Machenels schollers (I will not beleue you to be anie) who care not what the kings religion be, so he may content his people. I will yet stay vpon the same example: for how long soeuer I make this discourse, yet wil it be but too brieft to rote out this wretched opinion. It is a principle of estate, that you neuer suffer a Prince your neighbour to growe too mighty: but if your selfe be not strong enough to withstande him, you must enter league with other princes and commonwealths weaker then your selfe. A principle very familiar with the princes of Italy, which they haue bin ready enough to put in practise, all and euery time that we haue passed the Mounts for the reconery of the state of Naples or Millaine.

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In those dayes did we see the Emperour Charles the first growe mighty by the overthrow of all the protestant princes, whom he had discomfited in a pitch field, and had taken prisoners the D. of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Hesse. Hereupon had they recourse to our K. and put themselves into his protection. We took their quarrell in hand, to the ende to stoppe the course of the Emperours purposes, albeit against all policie and worldly reason. That he that made profession of the catholike religion, should support hereticall subjects (as they were then termed) against their soveraigne Lord, who warred upon them only in hatred of their new religion. In this voyage all things smiled upon us: for so soone as the emperour had intelligence that the king was in armes to passe over the Rhine, he pacified all things with his subjects and granted them the Interim, so that the onely sounde of our coming made them obtaine whatsoever they demanded, and at our returne from that voyage we gave for our badge the imperi- all towne of Metz, Thoul, and Verdun. But hath this passed unpunished? The penance for this sin was not inflicted during the life of Henry the second, but of his children. As also we reade of many like punishments in the historie of the Kings in the olde Testament. Thou Catholike king (saith this great god) hast mainteined the German Protestants, to the encrease of their opinions, so to keep downe thy coronal, but I will make thine of spring to feele howe I am offended herewith: For I will chastice them with the same rodde, and suffer like division to take holde of thy kingdome. I will raise up some of thy owne that shal harry thee upon the same argument, and withall call in the Protestantes to their succour, in reuenge of that succour that you meant to giue them, whereof shall at length ensue the desolation of your estate. Do you not thinke it to be a mere punishment of God which took rote in this voyage into Germany? For my parte I do not doubt it. The ancient heathen said that the gods had feet of wolle, and armes of yron, thereby to teach us, that they were slow to vengeance, but when they beganne, they recompenced that slacknesse with wonderfull rigour. Nowe will I come to the Duke of Guise last deceased.

Was there ever a better beloued among the people? Euen beloued, I say, because he entituled himselfe Protec-

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for generall of our religion against the heretikes : and with-
all, that there must be no reconciliation with them. A propo-
sition with him in such recommendation, that euery man of a
contrary opinion was straight accused, yet was he alwaies
of this aduice : No : for in the yere 1572. after he had procu-
red the death of his capitall enemy the Admirall, his house
was a sanctuary to a number of Huguenotes, euen vnto the
lordes of Camach, Arier, and the vicount of Boznhuet prin-
cipalles of the other party : yet at that time were they all A-
malekites : for proclamation by sound of trumpet and com-
mon crie was made throughout al the quarters of Paris, not
to saue or pardon any Huguenot wythout exception.

Let vs now come to the D. of Mayenne. When the late
king sent him to retire into his obedience at Dauphine, most
of whose towne the Huguenots possessed, was he so religious
as to enter no composition with them : He suffered them to
liue in peace of their consciences, wherupon without blowes
they rendred al their towne. Also so long as he was in Daul-
phine his court was fuller of Huguenot Gentlemen then of
Catholikes. Now commeth it that in selfe soules should har-
bour two so contrary opinions : So long forasmuch as their am-
bition was hydeled vnder the kings obedience, they thought
themselves most happy in hauing many friends and seruants
of each religion. But after they had cast off that, they imagi-
ned, that for the attaining in time to their last point, it was
requisite, not onely to haue weapons at hand, but euen neuer
to be diseazed of them. Otherwise, hauing bin mighty in com-
manding ouer armies, in their opinion they should after ward
haue bin brought down, when by means of peace they might
haue bin returned to their owne houses. And to say the truth,
it is the very counsell of Cesar, whereby in the end he became
soueraigne ouer the state of Rome. Now let vs consider, I
pray you, the successe of their purposes : for you shall finde,
that all that they did to the confusion of the king of Nauarre
(give me leave, I pray you, so to call him when I speake
of those daies) turned to his aduancement.

They armed themselves against him with the power of
the French king, with the king of Spaines double pistolets,
with the censures of the court of Rome, and with the peoples
sauiour : besides, they had all the preachers, the trumpets of

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their hypocriticall passions at their backe . Since the yeare 1586. they brought five armies into the field, to the end, quite to haue cut downe the king of Nauarre, three in Guyen and Poictou, and two in Auergne and Dauphine. In the yere 1587. they sent against him the D. of Joyeuse with a braue choice of Nobility, and a great troupe both of horsemen and footemen, with expresse commandement to set vpon him, at whatsoeuer price . In the yeare 1588. all things wretchedly smiled vpon the duke of Guise : he became Master of Paris without any blowes : causeth his king to flie shamefully away : establisheth what policie he list, changeth al the ancient captaines of the towne, to the end, to be assured of the new: purchaseth abolition at the kings hand vnder the name of vniõ for all that is past : adioyneth to his estate of greate Master, the function of lieutenant generall to the king in matters of armes. The estates being holden at Bloys, in the face of all the world he commandeth the deputies, and commanding, he seeketh by all sorts of purchase to denounce the king of Nauarre incapable of the crowne . Was there euer high enterprize guided with greater sense then this ? What was the Catastrophe ? All these five armies returned with shame from whence they came. The king of Nauarre shieldeth the blowes, as a man should say, with a rebated sword. The greatest honour that the D. of Mayenne got was when he took Castillon that belonged to his wife, where he spent France 60000. crowns, and lay six weeks : a towne which the Huguenots after ward recovered with ladders that cost them not sixe franks. The D. of Joyeuse was ouerthrowne in set battell at Coutras . The D. of Guise vpon the king of Nauarres birth day slaine in the middelt of the estates without any consent of the said king or his partakers. The death of him and of his brother the Cardinall conuerted al the common malice against the late king . The Townes rebelled against him, and chose the D. of Mayen to be their lieutenant general ouer the royall estate and crowne of France. In this newe rage of the people he wanted no money, and so consequently no men . The late king was forced to call vnto his aide the king of Sp. who came in . Being arriued, he deliuereth him together with the Cittie of Loures, which is at this day the repaire of the soueraigne courtes of France. For
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at the onely sound of his approach, the enemy who with a great Rhodomontade or brag had wonne a suburbs, retired the same night that they won it, hauing scarce leisure to take breath. Then is the king slaine by a Monk, which was one chiefe pece of seruite of the holy vniou: the preachers in their pulpits exclaimed that that Prince was of no religion: Oh very God, if they thought him such a one (this I speake by the way) why did they chuse a monke to execute so wretched a purpose, vntill they were assured that vnder that habit, the murderer might without difficulty haue accesse to this pious princes closet: They then imagined that by this vnexpected death all the affaires of the realme woulde chaunge countenance, also that the king of Pa. vpon hatred to his religion should be abandoned of al men: howbeit against this cursed counsell GOD otherwise prouided: for the valiant blood of the French Nobility did wholly bolue it selfe to our natural and lawfull king. And as by the death of the D. of Guise al the leaguers gaue ouer their quarell against those of the new religion, to set themselues against their king, so vpon this second murder executed on the person of our late king all the French Nobilitie, forgetting their mallice against the same religion, aymed onely at reuenge of this death against the Leaguers: hauing neuerthelesse first swozne the king to enter into our religion, if once he were well instructed therein.

Thus our king by two deaths whereto he neuer consented, the one, of his mortall enemy, the other, of his greatest friend, attained the Crowne, and at a time appoynted came befoze the head city of France (which had professed greatest hatred against him) enuironed with all the Princes of the bloud, officers of the crowne, and as braue an army as hath of late bene seene in France. Whom is he now to thanke for so many blessings: first God onely, next his enemies, whom God made the principall instruments for al that is aforesaid, as being more beholding to them then euer he was to all his seruants and friends: for, had they without wakening his weapons by anticipation of time, suffered him to haue liued close and quiet (as he did) in an out-corner of France, at the length both his minde and weapons had bene ouergrown with rust: but they forced him to stand vpon his defence, wherby at one instant of an appzentise they made him a per-

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the maister. He who otherwise had bene undone, had not his enemies sought his undoing: for as well his religion, as the small knowledge that we had had of his maners, would not easily haue suffered vs to fauour him after the late kings decease. But he hath this gift, that so soone as we do but smel him, he maketh enery one to loue, honour, and regarde him, yea euen his very enemies. Moreover, where could he haue found the passages ouer the riuers open to haue come to Paris? Where should he haue found such an army? To be short, he is indebted both of his crowne and forces to those who by all worldly pollicies sought to bring him into misery. Yea, he is so indebted albeit he brought no more with him but a stedfast hope that he hath in his great God. I doe here omit his victorie at Diepe: his entry into the suburbs of Paris which both counteruaile the best Towne in France, where God, to the ende, euen to leade him by the hand, dispersed a thicke mist to blinde the Parisians eyes. I will also leaue his Conquestes which after this he obtained in the middest of winter in the Countreies of Mendosme, Mayenne, and almost all Normandie: his two victories that he had in one day, at Purie and in Auvergne: the shamefull retrait of the D. of Parma: his glorious recovery of Corbeil with the turning of a hand, where this great beater downe of walles had sojournd fve weekes with eightene canons before he could take it: and finally, that which of late memorie chanced miraculously in the towne of S. Denis: for I haue not undertaken this, to trace you an history. To what then is all this? for now it is time for me to end this argument. Peradventure to turne the king from abandoning his religion, wherein he hath receiued so many fauours at Gods hand? I would not wish you so thinke, for I haue done it onely to shew to all Macheuelists, that God rather assisteth princes, of whatsoeuer christian profession, when in all their aduersities they call vpon him with their whole heartes, and repose their whole confidence in him, then such as faining themselves to be Catholics, haue no religion in their soules, and do referre their stay to the pollicie that they gather out of the bisard of religion. Let vs therefore blot out of our papers that that you seek to teach the king: that is, that so long as he was simply king of Nauarre he might vse the new religion, but being king of France,

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France, he must play an other part; as if his soule that was then king of Pauarre were other then his that is now king of France. Let vs not therefore desire him to become a Catholike by groping, and march onely in darknesse.

Now do I come to my catholike in religion, such a one as I wish our king to be. Now that he may so be, I thinke there be three things requisite: first to make him capable: next to poue forth our prayers to GOD for that end: and lastly, that we be penitent. To make him capable, he must of necessity be instructed: I say instructed, not by Ministers, as you do falsely presuppose he will, but by a generall or nationall counsell. I tell you againe, he must, for so haue we agreed in the middelt of his army, and we may not shrink from our consent, although it is euident that the fault is not in him that he performeth not his promise. Are you eyther wiser or honestter then all these great princes and lordes that were of that opinion, that now you should propound an other? Yea, admit we had not consented, yet were it his part to seek himselfe, and not finding himselfe strong enough to embrace it without being taught, our petition were wretched and wicked if we should intreat him to the conerary. Yet thinke not that I would wish this instruction to consist onely in words, our Bishops, Abbots, and other prelates of the church must bring example. Our L. Jesus Christ, to winne the Jewes hearts, began first by well doing, and after ward he taught. The first point requisite in an aduocate to perswade his Judges, is honesty: the rest of his arte is but eloquence, and the more he vse it, the more wary the iudge is, specially if he mistrust the speaker. Therefore to perswade our L. let vs ioine the word and the effect. Why, I pray you, haue we not prepared him matter sufficient to desire to be instructed? There was neuer church (with great grieve I must say it) more rent then ours: I will not speake of the abuses. A matter that almost no religion can dispense withall, the reason, because no religion can be exercised without outward ceremonies to make the peoples hearts intentiue. And it is very difficult, yea, euen vnpossible, but in succession of time there will be mixed among the ceremonies I wot not what of man, and so consequently, euill customes. I speake not therefore of abuses, one of the quarrels of our new commers: but I speake of the

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the impiety that harboured in our Church, so soone as the name of League was brought in. I will not tel you, that abandoning the gospell she would needes preuaile by armes, which I may well say by the way is an heresy. Our Lord Iesus Christ, after whose patterne we are to frame all our actions, his Apostles and Disciples, and after them the martyres did neuer establish our Church by this meanes. They planted our religion by preaching and exhortations, and with their blood sealed the christian faith in the magistrats hands: out of the fountaine whereof sprang a sea of true Christians, which ouerflowed the whole earth. Afterward, when we, taking our selues to be moze wise, would needes extend our religion by armes in our voyages ouer the sea, we thereby reaped no other fruit, but that the East in the end was made the tombe both of vs and our religion. This article doe I purposely passe ouer, as being a fault which at this day is accounted no fault. Let vs come to that which within these two yeares only hath passed before our faces. Shal I not call this impiety, that a college of Sorbonne abusing the name of the holy-ghost, shall aduise the simple people to arme themselves against their king? Shall I not call it impiety, that neuer expecting the popes decree, whereunto these our Masters referred themselves, the nexte day after such aduise they proclaymed warres all ouer? Shall I not call it impiety, that wretchedlie murdered their king, and hauing no other ministers of their slaughter but monkes? Shall I not call it impiety, that they haue canonized the wretched Iacobin? Shall I not call it impiety (pardon me O good God though I presume to smite euil at the head) that in the great consistory of Rome Pope Sixtus compared that wretches entry into the kings cabine to the comming of the Angell Gabziel, when he announced to the virgine the future mystery of the natiuitie of our Lord Iesus Christ? I wil not affirme that he so did, but sure I am, that such his Oration was printed in Paris & flyeth all ouer France, importing moze erroneous propositions then this. Our king is wise, and hath seene all these thinges: so, whie should not he haue seene them, sith the Leaguers haue ambitiously sought to make them their trophie? After al this hath he not reason to desire to be instructed in our religion, before he come into our Church? I thinke him the honester man

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for desiring it, and if he shall doe otherwise I woulde say he hath no soule.

Where I set downe that he ought to be instructed, yet is not that enough, for withall we are to addresse our prayers and supplications to God, not to the king. When I desire to obtaine some gift of the king, I deliuer him my petition: but in this case, it dependeth vpon Gods grace, not vpon his. Him therefore we must beseech to touch our kings heart. Among so many thousand persons as be in France, we neede not past a dozen good & deuout soules to obtaine our desires. S. Aug. in his youth was greatly infected with heresie. S. Cyprian befoze he became a Christian doated greatly in the loue of a discreete christian lady, yea, he so doated, that to the end to seduce her he learned the Arte Magicke. S. Monique S. Augustins mother neuer intreated her sonne to giue ouer his heresie, for it had bin lost labour, because the same is a leprosie of the soule which is not healed by mans hand. But she directed her prayers to God, as did also the other lady for S. Cyprian. Their prayers were heard with such aduantage that afterwarde these two persons grewe to be two of the greatest doctors of our Church. Let vs vse the like, and I doubt not but the R. wil be on our side, considering how wel he is bozne. He commendeth himselfe to the prayers of our church, as taking the prayers, as I suppose, of all good men of either religion to be of great force with God, as already he hath in part felt the effects. For the same day that he obtained the two great victories in two seuerall partes of France, the one at Purie, the other in Auvergne, there was a generall procession in Toures, wherein all the inhabitants were present, euen the litle children, who in their virgin-like deuotion cried, God saue the king round about the towne. And while we were yet in our prayers, the king grewe to handie strokes, and his miraculous victory wherein he was chieflie assisted by the catholike nobility continued so long as the procession lasted. Our prayers were the prayers of Moses when the children of Israel fought, and his victory was the victorie of Maron. Thinke you he marked not this chance? Peradventure in heart he is the same that we desire. The most catholike king that euer we had in France, and not onely a founder of an infinit number of Churches and Hospitals, but also

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a wonderfull reformer of the abuses in those dayes in our religion was S. Lewis. Thinke not then that after so many revolutions of yeares, God hath reserved the crowne of France to this great and noble race of Burbon (the last sprig of this holy stocke) but onely to the ende to renew the same piety wherewith that great king was possessed.

It is therefore requisite that toward this worke, we not only addresse our prayers to heauen, but also that withal we bring repentance. Why: that we be so balwise, as to imagine that God is not displeased with our Church for so many the impieties by us afoze rehearsed, whereof the priestes and monkes haue bene the chiefe Ministers. And who knoweth whether in reuenge of the same he hath sent vs a king of a contrary religion to ours? Were it not a iust iustice of God, and such a one as a certaine French spirite durst promise to himselfe in this Lattin Epigramme.

*Henricus monachi manu periiit,
Qui consortia, cellulasque fratrum,
Totus ex animo suo petebat,
Et quem vel monachum putes fuisse:
O cadem miseram, impiam, nefandam!
Regno nunc lacero potitur alter.
Henricus, monachis acerbis olim,
Rex purus sceleris, bonique custos,
Infanda necis acer ultor idem,
Quid mors hac tibi parturit requiris
Excors Gallia, pacis omnis expers?
Te nisi immeritam Deus iunabit,
Poenas perfidiae lues cruenta.
Occidit monachus pius monarcham,
Occidet monachos pius monarcha.*

Who euer made this bold epigram, spake not as one that knew that the K. was willing to entertaine all monasteries & religious houses in their ancient freedoms and liberties, as he hath plainly shewed in all the places where he hath passed, but as he that feared least a greater King then he, being wroth at the horrible and abominable murder of the King, committed by a monke, would be reuenged vpon the rest. For this is a case wherein the good do sometimes suffer for the bad. None is hurt but by himselfe: God reuengeth himselfe by his enemies.

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enemies. Why saist by his enemies? Say he will be reuenged of vs by our selues. Let vs therefore vse the same remedie wherewith god Jeremy counselled the chilozen of Israel to appease the wrath of God. We may well preach vnto the **Is.** we may instruct him in our religion, we may to that ende furnish him of great diuines. All this will nothing aduance our affaires. These are but plaisters laid vpon the wounds to supple it, but they cannot take away the cause of euil, that proceedeth of our impieties that cannot be vncommitted, albeit we thought to bury the remembrance of them with God by publike repentance of vs all. I do expzessly say, of vs all, because I wish him that thinketh himselfe innocent in this respect, may also be a party as well as he that hath consented thereto. Our church is composed both of good and bad, and when the body of a communalty doth transgres, as we haue done in all that hath bin done in France, euery one by the rigour of the law is punishable. The wicked haue intangled the good: if therefore we do otherwise, albeit God yeldeth to our prayers, yet in the end it will turne to our confusion by some meane, to vs vnknowne. One familiar example byed in the calamitie of this time, I will set befoze you. There was neuer king that fought with so much religion and discretion against the new religion, as did the late king. The gate of the gouernement of the prouinces was shut against the professors thereof: None of them was admitted to his order of knighthode of the holy ghost: none into the functions of iudgement or treasury: for all comfort they liued in some quiet in their owne houses, which was a very warre to conquer without weapons those whom we see to be of a contrary religiō to ours. Thus by a wise discourse he chastised the Huguenot, or pretended reformed (terme him as you list) who by this meanes could not be prouoked to any new rebellion, and yet in his family founde the contrary effectes of that he most desired: for there is nothing that the great Lordes of France so much desire, as to be neare their king, neither is there any thing that so moueth the mindes of the commons, as a desire to attaine to offices. It is a sicknesse of the mind that destroyeth the French man. So soone as a marchant or citizen hath gathered any reasonable stocke of money, he longeth after nothing so much as to imploy it in the purchase

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of some office of iustice or treasure for his child: so that this new religion in the iudgement of the wisest subuerted it self: and peradventure such as for shame persisted in it, because they would not seeme vnconstant, were no whit soze to see their children taught in our Schooles, and so consequently in the discipline of our religion. By these meanes all thinges grew among vs from bad to good, and from good to better. The plowman followed his oren, the artificer his trade, the marchant his traffike, the aduocate and proctor their practise, euery one in his calling with some consent, the citizen enjoyed his renuenues, the magistrate his fees, preheminences, and honours, the catholike exercised his religion without disturbance throughout all France, the Pagnenot lined sequestred from among vs in some corner of the realm without commotion, or at the least, so as he made no semblant of any. All this could not the Parisian be content with: he longed for nothing but to see the auntients wauing all ouer France vpon a vaine conceit to ouercome religion wyth tempozal weapons onely, which God alwayes misliked. All his desires tended but to that end: God heard his request, but to his condemnation. Thus we see France couered with men of armes. Thus we see a generall desolation of the estate: and in lieu of rooting out heresie, we do thus see atheisme lodged in the midst of vs. The Parisian longed after nothing so much as the death of the late king, at whatsoeuer price. A frantike reuenge that he nourished in his bowels was his onely god. Vpon this opinion he procured processions in his shirt: he received (as he supposed) his creator euery Sonday: vpon the festiual dayes he remained at seruice from morning till night, not to the end to appease Gods wrath, but to prouoke him against the king and his partakers, as being at that time possessed of no other religion but passion, not passion of Jesus Christ, but his owne. God yet once againe heareth him: he is slaine: a wicked monke is for the same placed in the kalender of Martyres, and for a testimony of their fury, these bedlems do weare the green scarffe ouer their shoulders. But what fruit do they reape thereby? This death set the crowne vpon this our kings head, who troubleth their bzaines more then the deceased, first, as being of another religion then theirs, next, in that he is a prince, ready vpon occasion, warlike, valiant.

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liant, and one who in foure moneths hath done moze feates of armes then the late king, considering his nature which was slowe, and better disposed to discourse then to execution, could haue perfozmed in foure yeares. Againe, they haue wished that our king might not take them, who onely toke care to pzeferue them, in taking them as their king and a true Frenchman. They call to their succour the Spaniard, an auncient enemy to France, who raiseth the siege, and in pzeferuing them hath vtterly lost them. Paris being at this day the carcasle of a towne gouerned, oꝛ rather deuoured by some scoze of rascalles, whose chieffest callings befoze were but clarks of the rolles, notaries, commissaries, pꝛocoures in the parliament, chatelet, and cleargy courts. What? do you not thinke them to be gods pastimes, who in granting them their demandes, doth at this day make them beare the sharpest and most violent punishment foꝛ their faults that euer were spoken of? Foꝛ my part, albeit I wish not the destruction of that miserable towne, which can not come to passe but that as the haile from heauen it will light vpon the good as the bad together, yet did I to my great grieve stedfastly perceine, that as the greene scarffe that the Parisians put on foꝛ the death of the late king, was a most assured testimony of their accursed folly, so the red which since they boꝛrowed from the Spanish Marrane is a most certaine prognostication of the bloody punishment that God keepeth in store foꝛ them.

Let vs therefore direct our bolwes and pꝛayers to God, wythout dissimulation oꝛ hypocrisie, neyther let vs intermeddle any woꝛldly matters, noꝛ let vs imagine that God wil be charmed wyth woꝛdes. He is not wonne wyth our mouthes, but wyth our hearts, wherein he hath established the true seate of our deuotions: the offences of the Ministers of our Church haue attayned their last period, let vs therefore earnestly and in equall ballance purge them. Let vs wꝛap our heads in sackcloth, our bodies in haire, and our heartes in contrition, and with teares crie vnto God, that he will vouchsafe to foꝛget all the offences that I doe abhoꝛre to remember: let that great R. and prophet Dauid be our guide, whome God vouchsafed to giue vs foꝛ an erample of one of the greatest sinners among all the kings of Israell, as also foꝛ one of the greatest penitents, one, who vpon his repentaunce

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obtained all his petitions at Gods handes. When we shall take the same course, God who is our true father, will embrace our prayers, and make our king such a one as we desire.

It is therefore in thy sight that I doe nowe humble my selfe: it is thou (O Lord) who with all my heart I call vpon to be our helpe: I knowe the transgressions that against thy Maiesty we haue committed euen from the highest to the lowest both generally and particularly, there is none of vs that can exempt himselfe. If thou list to poize our cause in the balance of thy iustice, who dare appeare in thy sight? Thou, I say, who by thy especiall titles hast reserved vengeance to thy selfe: but (O Lord) I know also that thou art the God of mercy. We present our selues before thy face, not to be iustified, but in our shirts bringing a pardon, which it may please thee of thy holy grace to allow of. Thy word is true. Thou hast said: If in Sodome and Gomorrah there were but ten good men, the rest of the wicked shoulde for their sakes haue no harme. Alas, are there not an infinit number of thy faithful seruants that neuer consented to all these impieties, who notwithstanding at this day doe beare the penance of other mens wickednesse, driuen out of their houses, depriued of the view of their wiues whome thou hast comanded vs to cleaue vnto, banished from the presence of their parents and children, and whatsoeuer they loue best? Euen they that haue bene the authours of these calamities, doe they not suffer, if not penance, yet at the least most grievous punishment for their offences? These deaths, these pouerties, these extraordinary sicknesses, this famine, this generall ruine of Paris, this second desolation of Ierusalem, let them be (O Lord) God, let them be accounted as penance in thy sight. Albeit there be some among vs most wickedly hardened in their felonies, yet be there also many in the Towne, who in their soules do weepe, howle, and lament for all that is past. Grant O good God, that they may be those ten whom thou desiredst to finde in Sodome, and hauing nowe with thy rodde chastized vs in our bodies and goodes, suffer not our soules to be lost. We all are thy lawfull and naturall childzen through the regeneration of the holy Sacrament of Baptisme: and we do beleue, that through thy passion we be inheritors of thy

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thy Paradise. Thou (O Lord) who of a heauy and greate
lump diddest in the beginning of the world bring all things
into good order, doest exercise the same liberality ouer thy
Church. After this miserable Chaos that haue disordered
all the affaires of thy religion, reunite vs all vnder the ban-
ner of thy Church: suffer not the diuell the father of diuision
to separate the head from the members, vouchsafe to illumi-
nate our king with the beames of thy holy spirit, so to reduce
him into thy catholike apostolike and Romish Church, to the
end that to the honour and exaltation of thy holy name, eue-
ry man may acknowledge thee to be the Father of concord
and peace. O most eternall goodnesse, this we do most
humbly beseech thee, as taking this to be thy
wil, whereto we wil referre al our
Prayers and Suppli-
cations.

FINIS.